

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8610
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 MOSCOW 03580

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PEPR, UR, CH
SUBJECT: INCREASED ANTI-CHINESE RHETORIC PRECEDES NATIONAL
PEOPLES' CONGRESS MEETING

REF: MOSCOW 2709

SUMMARY: ALTHOUGH THERE HAS BEEN A SLIGHT DIP IN THE
LAST FEW DAYS, SOVIET ANTI-PRC MEDIA ATTACKS WERE AT A
HIGH LEVEL IN THE TWO MONTHS PRECEDING THE NATIONAL
PEOPLES' CONGRESS (NPC) MEETING. SOVIET PRESS SHARPLY
CONDEMN CHINESE SUPPORT FOR KAMPUCHEA AND PEKING'S
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INTENTIONS TO DRAW JAPAN, WESTERN EUROPE AND THE U.S.
INTO A WORLD-WIDE ANTI-SOVIET FRONT. OUR SOVIET CONTACTS
ATTRIBUTE THIS INCREASED RHETORIC TO HEIGHTENED ANTI-
SOVIET CRITICISM IN THE CHINESE PRESS. AT THE SAME TIME,
BOTH OUR SOVIET AND CHINESE CONTACTS CLAIM THAT NO PARTIC-
ULAR SIGNIFICANCE SHOULD BE ATTACHED TO THE ENHANCED
WAR OF WORDS. THIS MAY REFLECT THEIR SEPARATE CONCERNS

TO AVOID GIVING US THE IMPRESSION THAT THE SITUATION OFFERS PROSPECTS FOR INCREASED U.S. LEVERAGE IN THE SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE. IN ANY EVENT, THE INCREASED LEVEL OF ANTI-PRC MEDIA BLASTS OVER THE LAST TWO MONTHS, LIKE DEF MIN USTINOV'S FEB. 22 CRITICISM, CONSTITUTE ANOTHER INDICATION THAT MOSCOW, AT LEAST IN THE SHORT TERM, SEES NO LIKELIHOOD FOR AN IMPROVEMENT IN SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. THERE WAS A NOTABLE UPSWING IN THE FREQUENCY OF ANTI-CHINESE ATTACKS APPEARING IN THE SOVIET MEDIA DURING JANUARY AND FEBRUARY. UNTIL THIS WEEK ANTI-CHINESE ARTICLES HAVE APPEARED ALMOST DAILY IN THE SOVIET CENTRAL PRESS. ARTICLES SEIZE ON DEVELOPMENTS SUCH AS PURGES IN CHINA OR CHINESE MILITARY SHOPPING ABROAD TO CHARGE INTERNAL POLITICAL INSTABILITY AND "MILITARIZATION" IN CHINA OR TO DENOUNCE PEKING'S EFFORTS TO FORGE A WORLD-WIDE ANTI-SOVIET "UNITED FRONT". SINCE EARLY JANUARY, WE HAVE REPORTED SPECIFIC SOVIET MEDIA BLASTS AGAINST CHINESE SUPPORT FOR KHMERS IN THEIR BORDER WAR WITH VIETNAM, PEKING'S OVERSEAS CHINESE POLICY, CHINESE ARMS PURCHASING EFFORTS ABROAD, THE PRC-EC TRADE ACCORD AND PEKING'S POSITION ON THE NEUTRON BOMB. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER THE SLIGHT DIP IN SOVIET PRESS CRITICISM OF CHINA OVER THE PAST FEW DAYS SIGNALS A RETURN TO "NORMAL" LEVELS OF SOVIET ANTI-CHINESE RHETORIC, OR
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WHETHER HIGHER LEVEL REACHED IN JANUARY-FEBRUARY WILL RESUME.

2. A THREE-PART SOVIET TV DOCUMENTARY ON CHINA IN JANUARY AND FEBRUARY SHOWERED ABUSE ON CHINESE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLICIES. THE DOCUMENTARY SIGNALLED OUT TENG HSAIO-PING AS WELL AS MAO TSE-TUNG FOR SPECIAL CONDEMNATION. IN CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF, A SOVIET SPECIALIST ON CHINA CRITICIZED THE LOW LEVEL OF SOPHISTICATION OF THE PROGRAMS AND STATED THAT THEY WERE TARGETED AT THE SOVIET DOMESTIC AUDIENCE. THE PROGRAMS' CONTENTS SUPPORT HIS CONCLUSION. FILM FOOTAGE (MOST OF WHICH SEEMED TO HAVE BEEN TAKEN DIRECTLY FROM CHINESE TV SCREENS) AND OMINOUS BACKGROUND MUSIC/SOUND EFFECTS WERE CLEARLY SELECTED TO FEED THE STRONG FEARS AND PREJUDICES OF THE SOVIET CITIZENRY TOWARD THE CHINESE. ROW AFTER ROW OF CHINESE WORKERS OR SOLDIERS PASSED BY THE SOVIET TV VIEWER, WHO WAS ALSO TREATED TO SCENES OF LARGE NUMBERS OF ALLEGEDLY IMPOVERISHED CHINESE CROWDED TOGETHER IN FACTORIES AND FARMS. PROMINENT COVERAGE WAS GIVEN TO CHINESE RECEPTIONS OF GUESTS FROM NATO COUNTRIES IN CONJUNCTION WITH DESCRIPTIONS OF CHINESE EFFORTS TO

ORCHESTRATE A WORLD-WIDE ANTI-SOVIET UNITED FRONT. THE ROMANIAN PRESS ATTACHE HERE QUOTED A SOVIET PRESS SOURCE AS STATING THAT "THE STREETS WERE EMPTY" WHEN THE THREE-PART DOCUMENTARY WAS RUN ON SOVIET TELEVISION.

3. SIMILAR ANTI-CHINESE THEMES ARE "DOCUMENTED" IN TWO RECENTLY PUBLISHED SOVIET BOOKS: THE SECOND (AND REVISED) EDITION OF O. B. BORISOV AND B. T. KOLOSKOV'S "SOVIET-CHINESE RELATIONS (1945-1977)", AND B. T. KOLOSKOV'S "CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY, 1969-1976". BOTH

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BOOKS (COPIES OF WHICH WE WILL POUCH) PRESENT THE STANDARD SOVIET ARGUMENTS CHARGING COMPLETE CHINESE RESPONSIBILITY FOR SINO-SOVIET DIFFERENCES. THEY REITERATE SOVIET READINESS TO RESOLVE SINO-SOVIET DIFFERENCES AND ATTACK THE POST-MAO CHINESE LEADERSHIP FOR INTENSIFYING PEKING'S ANTI-SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY. WESTERN NATIONS, INCLUDING THE U.S., ARE ALSO CRITICIZED FOR ALLEGEDLY EXACERBATING THE SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE. MORE AUTHORITATIVE "SOVIET-CHINESE RELATIONS" CONCLUDES BY HOLDING THAT:

-- THE "IMPERIALIST CAMP" CANNOT "CONCEAL ITS SATISFACTION OVER THE AGGRAVATION IN SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS".
"ANTI-COMMUNIST IDEALOGUES" ARGUE THAT THE RESTORATION OF SINO-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP IS IMPOSSIBLE GIVEN THE
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"INSURMOUNTABLE CONTRADICTIONS" BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES WHILE ATTEMPTING TO PROVE THAT THE SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE IS "NATURAL". "THIS PROVOCATIVE THESIS HAS BEEN ASSUMED BY PEKING'S PROPAGANDA, WHICH DOES ITS BEST TO INSTILL IN THE CHINESE PEOPLE THE IDEA OF A 'THREAT FROM THE NORTH', PROPAGATING ANIMOSITY AND HATRED TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION";

-- THE WEAKENING OF CHINA'S TIES TO THE SOVIET UNION IN THE 1960'S "HAD A NEGATIVE EFFECT ON THE POLITICAL CLIMATE IN CHINA," AND LED TO "THE TRIUMPH OF THE PETTY BOURGEOISE/NATIONALIST LINE OVER THE MARXIST-LENINIST/INTERNATIONALIST LINE." THE LATTER BECAME FORMAL CCP POLICY DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION;

-- THE CPSU'S POLICY OF STRENGTHENING SINO-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP ENCOURAGED THE GROWTH OF "INTERNATIONALIST FORCES" IN CHINA. THE CPSU "IS CONSTANTLY EDUCATING THE SOVIET PEOPLE IN THE SPIRIT OF FRIENDSHIP AND DEEP RESPECT FOR THE CHINESE PEOPLE. THIS COURSE DEMANDS STRUGGLE AGAINST THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MAOISM, AGAINST THE SPLITTING, ANTI-SOVIET ACTIVITIES OF PEKING'S LEADERS. ANTI-MAOISM IS SYNONOMOUS WITH FRIENDSHIP FOR THE CHINESE PEOPLE AND THE RETURN OF CHINA TO THE UNITED RANKS OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM".

4. FEB. 10 NOVOYE VREMYA SIGNED ARTICLE REVIEWS KOLOSKOV'S "CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY". ARTICLE APPLAUDS KOLOSKOV'S CONTENTION THAT MAO ADOPTED AN ANTI-SOVIET COURSE TO CREATE A "BESEIGED FORTRESS" PSYCHOSIS AT HOME AND TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. MIXING ITS OWN COMMENTARY WITH ITS REVIEW OF KOLOSKOV'S BOOK, ARTICLE GOES ON TO CHARGE THAT:
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-- PEKINGIS ENCOURAGING THE PEOPLES OF WESTERN EUROPE TO COME OUT AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION IN A THIRD WORLD WAR;

-- ALTHOUGH WASHINGTON IS GLAD ITS ENVOYS ARE IN PEKING,

LONDON IS RELAXED "OVER TACIT ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF HONG KONG AS A BRITISH TERRITORY" AND NATO GENERALS ARE ENCOURAGED ABOUT CHINESE DEFENSE OF NATO MILITARY BASES, THE WEST SHOULD REMEMBER THE ORIENTAL SAYING THAT "IF A TIGER IS SQUATTING, IT DOES NOT NECESSARILY MEAN IT IS GOING TO GREET YOU." PEKING'S STRUGGLE AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS DIPLOMACY IN THE WEST ARE MERELY PRELIMINARY STEPS TOWARD A FINAL GOAL: CHINESE WORLD HEGEMONY;

-- THE AXIS OF CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY CONTINUES TO MOVE TO THE RIGHT, AND THIS POLICY IS PROGRESSIVELY COMING TO A SHARP CONTRADICTION WITH THE TREND TOWARD DETENTE AND CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE, WHICH DOMINATES THE WORLD SCENE.

5. COMMENT: MFA FIRST FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT (CHINA), COUNSELOR I. T. KALABUKOV, TOLD EMBOFF FEB. 22 THAT UPSWING IN ANTI-PRC PROPAGANDA IN SOVIET MEDIA HAS BEEN IN RESPONSE TO HEIGHTENED CRITICISM OF THE SOVIET UNION IN THE CHINESE PRESS. KALABUKOV CLAIMED THAT THE SOVIET BLASTS AMOUNT TO "ONLY ONE PERCENT" OF THE ANTI-SOVIET MATERIAL CURRENTLY APPEARING IN THE CHINESE PRESS. AT THIS POINT HIS AIDE PICKED UP A COPY OF "PEOPLES' DAILY" AND POINTED TO ONE PAGE IN WHICH FOUR (OF A TOTAL OF SEVEN) ARTICLES WERE ATTACKS ON THE SOVIET UNION.

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6. BOTH OUR SOVIET AND CHINESE CONTACTS CLAIM TO ATTACH
LITTLE SIGNIFICANCE TO THE INCREASE IN ANTI-CHINESE
PROPAGANDA. A DIPLOMATIC "CHINA-WATCHER" HERE HAS
POINTED OUT THE ABSENCE OF AN AUTHORITATIVE ALEXANDROV
OR "KOMMUNIST" ARTICLE OVER THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS.
(NOTE: THE LAST MAJOR ATTACK WAS THE AUGUST, 1977
"KOMMUNIST" BLAST. THE OCT. 1 ALEXANDROV ARTICLE IN
PRAVDA WAS CRITICAL BUT RELATIVELY RESTRAINED. END
NOTE.)

7. DESPITE THE TENDENCY OF BOTH THE SOVIETS AND THE
CHINESE TO SHRUG OFF THE INCREASED ANTI-PRC CRITICISM
IN JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, WE FEEL THAT THIS UPSWING
IS NOTEWORTHY - IF FOR NOTHING ELSE THAN ITS PORTRAYAL
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OF THE CONTINUING DEEP STRAINS IN SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS.
MOREOVER, THE TENDENCY OF OUR CHINESE AND SOVIET
CONTACTS TO DOWNGRADE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE INCREASED
RHETORIC MAY REFLECT THEIR SEPARATE CONCERNS TO AVOID
GIVING US THE IMPRESSION THAT THE U.S. HAS ANY INCREASED
LEVERAGE IN THE CURRENT SITUATION. IN ANY EVENT,
THE INCREASED LEVEL OF ANTI-PRC MEDIA BLASTS OVER THE
LAST TWO MONTHS, LIKE DEF MIN USTINOV'S FEB. 22
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